

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE President has at last given evidence which nobody will gainsay that, when he recommended civil service reform, he really meant what he said. He has now been three years in office, and not the smallest step, so far as is known, has been taken at his instance to bring it about in any of the departments. Congress, at the close of the last session, and to the surprise of everybody, tacked on to the Appropriation Bill an authorization to the President to prescribe rules and regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service; but, as three months have elapsed since then, and the abuses in the civil service have continued very actively, and nothing was heard of any action on the President's part, the public began to fear that nothing would be done. He has, however, at last moved, and moved to such good purpose as to leave no doubt of his sincerity, by appointing a Commission to draw up the rules and regulations in question, composed of Messrs. G. W. Curtis, of New York; Alexander G. Cattell, of New Jersey; D. C. Cox, of the Department of the Interior; E. B. Elliott, of the Treasury Department; and Joseph H. Blackman, of the Post-Office Department. These appointments are all excellent, and Mr. Curtis's has the rare merit of giving a warm and able advocate of the reform a leading part in carrying it out. He made it the subject of his lecture the winter before last, besides strenuously supporting it in the press, and thus brought the subject to the notice and comprehension of thousands through the country districts who hardly knew what the phrase civil service reform meant. This was all the more meritorious, because we feel sure he might have lectured on "Caste," or on the "Millennium," with far more acceptance.

Jefferson Davis has made his appearance in public two or three times within the last fortnight, and, to the great disgust and embarrassment of the Vallandigham Democracy of the North, has been glorying in his past career, and professing his unshaken adhesion "to the lost cause." The *World* denounces him fiercely, and, indeed, makes it seem as if it would not be a bad plan for Republicans to pay him to stump the South during the coming winter. The Republican papers profess, of course, to regard his appearance as highly significant, and denounce him too, and treat his speeches as grave symptoms, so that, on the whole, a sickly old man, whose career has been a wretched failure, is being gradually drawn from his obscurity and elevated into the rank of an important political personage. Some of the Republican papers read him awful lectures on the impropriety of his conduct in showing himself again, but it seems to us there is something childish about these tirades against him. When he was let off without punishment, no pledges were exacted from him as to his future behavior; he never promised that he would never show himself in public again. To be sure, it is foolish and indecent for him to do so, but then those who now find fault with him have always maintained that nothing in the shape of good sense or good taste was to be expected from him. Whence, then, these tears?

The Republican organization in this city is still beset by troubles. It has long, as all the world knows, been divided into two factions, the cause of the division being, though disguised in various ways—offices. One faction always has possession of the Custom-house, and supports the Administration, and is profoundly impressed by the rapidity with which the public debt is being paid off, and with the extent to which "order and economy" have been infused into the collection of the revenue. The other is filled with horror of the Democrats, and is greatly concerned about "equal rights for all" and the three consti-

tutional amendments; but it is always dissatisfied with the mode in which places in the Custom-house and in the United States Marshal's office are distributed. It takes consolation in State politics, and manages at Albany in such fashion as to pick up something. Last year it made a very good bargain with the Tammany Ring so as to get plenty of its men into City offices, who have since been known as "Tammany Republicans," and whose connection with Tammany does not hinder them from figuring prominently in the Republican organization, and this faction has had the wisdom to put Horace Greeley into their chair. After much fighting between the two, the State Committee interfered, and ordered a reorganization, which has been attempted under the superintendence of respectable and influential men; but the Greeleyites refuse to surrender, set the Custom-house at defiance, and say their organization is as "regular" as can be, and that they will not dissolve to please anybody. The Custom-house party has the State Committee under its control, and is said to be now using all its engines of war to secure the return of Grant delegates to the presidential convention. In the meantime, "the reform in the civil service" is going on in a wonderful manner in that institution. The last step in that direction has been an order emanating from Mr. Boutwell—who superintends the education of the young ministers and doctors in the Treasury at Washington—forbidding the publication of the changes made among officials in the Custom-house here; for the purpose, it is said, of covering up the bestowal of a sinecure on one Sam Maddox in the shape of a deputy-collectorship at large. It must be remembered that these operations are carried on by gentlemen who are horrified because Bill Tweed employs large bodies of laborers for whom he has little or nothing to do just before election day.

We have no doubt the *Tribune* has assailed the Senate for its late attempts to overhaul private telegrams and correspondence in good faith, and really believes what it has said in opposition to be sound and of general application. But it is nevertheless true, as we have pointed out, that the *Tribune*, by defending the conduct of the House in doing the same thing after the impeachment trial, did render itself incapable of making any effectual opposition to such conduct on the part of either House or Senate, at least for a good many years, and the moral which all editors ought to draw from its present position is that the establishment of precedents is dangerous work; that the first duty of a newspaper in "lively times" is to keep cool. It now defends itself (June 5) in the Butler matter in a way which can hardly be called ingenuous. It says that when Butler overhauled the barrel of telegrams under orders from the House, he was acting as the manager of the impeachment, or, in other words, as "the prosecuting officer" of a court. Now this is not true, and, if it were true, would be no answer. In the first place, the trial in which Butler was a prosecuting officer had already taken place, and been closed by a verdict of not guilty. Butler and his brother "managers" were therefore *functi officio*; the court in which they had acted had ceased to exist. They were absolutely without any judicial character whatever. In the second place, the enquiry in which the House permitted them to engage was scandalous and indecent, and without any color of right, because it was an enquiry by one House into the official conduct of the members of the other House, a proceeding unknown to parliamentary law; and, what was worse, it was conducted by the counsel of the defeated party, in a cause which had been fairly tried, for the purpose of fastening a charge of corruption on the judges who had decided against him; and, to crown all, it was conducted secretly and *ex-parte*. If ever there was an abuse of parliamentary powers against which the press ought to have thundered, it was this. One of the most discreditable passages in the history of journalism is that which tells that the political charlatan who got the enquiry up had the support of respectable papers in carrying it on, and had their approval of his violation of private correspondence and the seizure of the telegrams of private individuals

en masse, to be examined as he pleased, and without any specification of what he was looking for.

Mr. Wendell Phillips, in his recent discourse before the Boston Communists, while making a glowing eulogium on the brethren who have just come to grief in Paris, took occasion to say that "he felt nothing but disgust and rebuke for the vandal destruction of public and private property" which has taken place in that city. Now, we take the liberty of suggesting that he made a mistake in saying this. He ought to have defended the whole thing, destruction of property and all, because he would thus have made his speech far spicier, and would not have done anybody any harm. Let us add that he cuts a very sorry, commonplace figure as a rebuker of "vandalism"; any dolt could play that part. What we want from him is a good "silvery" justification of pillage and arson. Moreover, we do not approve of his talking of the people of Paris as "ignorant masses," who did not know what they were doing when they were burning and destroying the other day. In one of his great speeches delivered about a year ago, he laid it down that the best education a boy could receive was that which he acquired "in picking up a living." Now, this is just what Louis Napoleon and the priests thought, and this is all they let the French get, but we can't allow our philosopher to turn round now and say it was a bad one and did not fit them.

Mr. George T. Curtis has sent a defence of himself to the *World*, the sum and substance of which is that his "opinion" in the Field-Barlow controversy contained his real convictions, and that the fee did not influence him one way or the other. We are still left in the dark, however, as to the way in which an elderly lawyer came to the conclusion that, in conducting what he thought a judicial investigation, it was proper for him to get information freely from one side, and hold no communication whatever with the other side. We should like to know, also, why it was that, when he saw himself coming full tilt on the question of Barnard's corruption, he forbore to question Mr. Field or Mr. Shearman on that point. Had he done so, they would have informed him that, to their knowledge, Barnard was grossly and notoriously corrupt, and a disgrace to the bench and to the community which pays him and tolerates him. He would thus have been saved the scandal and disgrace and absurdity of rising up with his fee in his pocket to preach to men of honor, "in the name of all that is sacred," and so forth. There is one little test by which we can always ascertain whether an investigation is judicial in its character or not, with which Mr. Curtis is, of course, familiar, for it is as old as the art of judging, and which we are sorry he did not apply in this case; it consists simply in the question, Would the decision be rendered and published, no matter which way it went? If Mr. Curtis had asked himself this, and were given to candid self-examination, he would have had some painful moments before entering on his work.

Money is, according to the Wall Street phrase, a drug. Yet the great upward speculation in stocks appears to have come to a halt, and to be near culminating. Most classes of securities have declined during the week. Gold continues firm, owing to the unchanged unfavorable condition of our foreign exchanges, and the consequent steady export of coin. The funding appears to have ceased. The debt statement for the month shows a reduction of only \$4,440,000, and no change of importance in the position of the debt. The receipts of the Treasury for the month of June are again, so far, extremely light, and the income tax, according to all accounts, will yield materially less than last year. Railroad and other negotiations, both here and abroad, still continue, but it is apparent that there is a decided lull in the public eagerness to invest in new enterprises.

A movement of some significance seems to be springing up in Philadelphia, which, perhaps, our overburdened taxpayers might do well to watch. For years past, there has been a local quarrel there on

the subject of building a new Court-House and City Hall. The site for the projected buildings has been fiercely contested, and while none of the rival locations has been strong enough to carry its point, each has had sufficient influence to prevent the success of its opponents. At length the Legislature was induced to intervene, and it did so a year ago by appointing a commission to erect the buildings. This commission was, perhaps, not quite so bad in principle as the one by which Messrs. Tweed, Sweeney, and Hall have obtained the control of New York, but as it authorized the commissioners to levy taxes without limit, and expend them without supervision; as there was no term of years defined for their tenure of office, and they were empowered to fill all vacancies in their own body, it will be seen that a comfortable little despotism was established in the city of Penn. which, by arts well understood among politicians, could speedily extend its control through all portions of the municipal organization. Our somewhat sluggish neighbors gradually awoke to a consciousness of this, and during last winter an agitation arose to urge the Legislature to abolish the commission. That body, however, has recently adjourned without granting the wished-for relief, and the disappointed agitators are turning upon the politicians, to whom they attribute their defeat. The movement is spreading, and there seems to be a disposition to strike at the cause as well as the effect. The programme appears to be to form associations without distinction of party, pledged to select the best candidates from both tickets for local officers, and, by wielding the balance of power, to compel the political managers to make good nominations. Parties in Philadelphia are so nearly equal that a comparatively small number of voters can turn the scale, and the scheme looks feasible enough if, as we are told is the case, it is in good hands. The problem of applying democratic institutions to the government of great cities is so intricate a one, and, withal, so important to the destinies of this country, that any attempt of this kind possesses more than a mere local interest.

The great majority of the Paris journals are reported to be in favor of the continuance of the Republic, and there can hardly be a doubt that this sentiment is the expression of public opinion, as it manifests itself not only in the reconquered capital, but in the large towns of France generally. Of this disposition of the majority of the urban population of France, the late municipal elections, which resulted in a decided triumph of the Moderate Republicans, in spite of the horrors of the civil war kindled by revolutionary folly, have given a sufficient evidence. The *Opinion*, *Bien Public*, *Politique*, *Siccle*, and *Constitutionnel* are mentioned as the most outspoken advocates of the Republic. The *Temps*, formerly the leading Radical paper, is reported as guarded in its expressions, which may be the consequence of prudence demanded by the exceptional circumstances. The position assumed by the *Journal des Débats* and the *Gaulois* is not clearly stated. The *Tricolore*—a new journal—and *Figaro* have hoisted the flag of monarchy. Émile de Girardin, in the *Liberté*, which appears to have resumed its place, in lieu of his late *Union Française*, urges the establishment of a federal republic. More moderate decentralization is urged by others, though the desire for the return of the Government to Paris is generally expressed by the metropolitan press—in which the promptings of self-interest may have a slight part. About the latest manifestations of the comparatively "rural" press, we are left in ignorance. We hear, however, that a clerical reaction is gaining ground among the strictly rural population, which is but too natural after the fiendish displays of anti-clerical rage exhibited by the revolutionists of Paris. Bonapartism, in favor of which Prince Napoleon calls for a new *plébiscite*, as yet nowhere lifts up its head. In the National Assembly it is entirely mute.

If a classification made a few weeks ago by a well-informed Versailles correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* be still in the main correct (and there is hardly any reason to expect a considerable change to have taken place since), the six hundred members of the National Assembly who occupy their seats—double elections and resignations accounting for so many vacant ones—form the following groups: The

Radical Left, the Republican Left, the Left Centre, the Liberal Conservatives, and the Extreme Right, besides about one hundred representatives who may be designated as "wild," that is, belonging to no party. The Radical Left, owing to resignations by the most extreme, like Hugo, Rochefort, Pyat, Blanqui, Millière, and Delescluze, consists of a very small band, almost all Parisians, among whom are: Louis Blanc, Quinet, Schoelcher, and Tolain. The Republican Left numbers about one hundred and thirty members, and its leading committee consists of Emanuel Arago, Grévy—who is said to be the coming man—Lefranc, Leblond, and Rolland. The Left Centre, about one hundred strong, and leaning towards Orleanism, embraces, among others, the long-known names of Barante, Lasteyrie, Malleville, Say, and Vitet. The Liberal Conservatives—number not stated—follow the lead of Saint-Marc Girardin, almost all being Orleanists, and among the most conspicuous of them: Decazes, D'Haussonville, Comte Duchâtel, Ségur, and Salvandy. The Extreme Right, which represents Legitimism and Clericalism, is the most numerous of the five groups, and numbers among its members the Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier, the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, and the Archbishop of Orléans, Dupanloup.

As regards the Government, so much is certain that it neither has any sympathy with the extreme wings—Radical Republicans and Clerico-Legitimists—nor meets with sympathy on their part. It has its main support in the Centre, but it is often quite readily sustained by the Republican Left, especially whenever M. Thiers yields to one of those outbursts of passion into which he is not infrequently drawn by the reactionary impatience of the Legitimists. It is also generally believed that he is decidedly hostile to the more or less secret schemes of the Orleanists, whether aiming at the re-establishment of the throne of July, which was broken in 1848, or at a fusion with the elder branch of the House of Bourbon, which was exiled in 1830, and the head of which, the Comte de Chambord—a refugee from his childhood—has just issued another of his pitiable appeals to "his country," offering himself as the most convenient saviour of French society and restorer of French grandeur; the peasantry, the priests, and the Pope aiding. Whether a fusion of the two branches of the royal family of France, which has been repeatedly attempted in vain, has now actually been consummated, as is again asserted, to the chagrin of the many admirers of the accomplished sons and grandsons of Louis Philippe—a fusion which would render the elder of the latter, the Comte de Paris, the "legitimate" heir to the prospective crown of Henry V. (Chambord)—must soon appear from the debates, to begin to-day, on the admission of the Orleans princes to their seats in the Assembly and on the abrogation of the proscriptive laws against the Bourbons in general.

The principal points by which the definitive treaty of peace between France and Germany, concluded at Frankfort, May 10—of which the authentic text is now before us—differs from the preliminaries of Versailles, of March 26, are the following: The *rayon* of the fortress of Belfort, which the Germans are to restore to France, is extended so as to embrace the whole of the cantons of Belfort, Delle, and Giromagny, and the western portion of Fontaine. In compensation for this retrocession of Alsatian territory, Germany receives an addition to its Lotharingian conquest between the western boundary of the cantons of Cattenom and Thionville, and a line drawn from near the southwest corner of Luxemburg to the southwest corner of the last-named canton. The retroceded territory is inhabited by French, the newly-acquired by Germans; in this respect, then, the exchange is favorable to Germany. From a military point of view, however, it is regarded as advantageous to France. The payment of the first one hundred million dollars of the war indemnity, to be paid by France, is delayed to the expiration of one month after the restoration of the authority of the French Government in Paris. Two hundred millions will be paid within the present year, and one hundred millions on the 1st of May, 1872, the last three instalments remaining due, as stipulated in the preliminaries,

on the 2d of March, 1874. On the payment of the first hundred millions, the departments of Somme, Seine-Inférieure, and Eure are to be finally evacuated by the Germans. The evacuation of the departments of Oise, Seine-et-Marne, and Seine, as well as of the forts of Paris, will take place "as soon as the German Government will deem the re-establishment of order—both in France and Paris—sufficient to ensure the fulfilment of the engagements entered into by France;" in any case, however, it must follow the payment of the third hundred millions. The Germans will continue to send home the captives "in understanding with the French Government." The latter will discharge those of the returning whose term of service has expired, and send the rest behind the Loire. The legal authority having been re-established in Paris, the army of Paris and Versailles, down to the evacuation of the forts by the Germans, is not to exceed the number of eighty thousand men. Nor can the French Government till then execute any concentration of troops on the right bank of the Loire. All commercial treaties between the two countries are regarded as abrogated by the war, and they are henceforth to base their commercial relations on the principle of reciprocity, and "on the footing of the most favored nation," but only with regard to the following nations: England, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, and Russia. The expelled Germans are reinstated in all their rights of property, domicile, and citizenship. The original text of the treaty is in French, but signs of German dictation are visible throughout.

The greater interest of the war with Germany has prevented the insurrection which has been raging in Algeria for the last year from attracting much attention; but it has been serious and bloody, and it is only now that we begin to get much light on it. The French have ascribed it, at the outset, like most of their misfortunes, to the machinations of Bismarck; but it appears to have been due, in part, to the determination of the Khouans, a fanatical and warlike sect of Mussulmans, to take advantage of French misfortunes, and these found the Kabyls and Arabs discontented enough, for various reasons, to join them in arms, though the Kabyls have not gone over to the insurrection until recently. The atrocities and desolation wrought by the conflict have been dreadful. The villages have been burnt, the farms laid waste, and the colonists massacred over the finest portion of the French domain to within twenty miles of Algiers; all of which the French troops have repaid in kind. During the month of May, the arrival of strong reinforcements from France has enabled the Government to take a vigorous offensive and inflict several crushing defeats on the rebels, whose chief, Bak-Aga-Mokrani, has been killed, and a large number of the tribes engaged in the revolt have made their submission. The present French Government has done what the Imperial Government always refused to do, and which, probably, more than anything else, will help to make Algiers a real French colony, attractive to French settlers—and that is, placed it under civil rule. The spirit of emigration is, at best, not strong among Frenchmen; were it ever so strong, they could not have been readily induced to quit the protection of the civil courts and take up their abode under the jurisdiction of courts-martial.

The Prohibitionists in England have made one more desperate effort to carry their ideas into execution, in the shape of what is known as Sir Wilfred Lawson's Permissive Bill, which gives the ratepayers of a parish the power to decide by a majority vote how many public-houses they will have within their limits, or whether they will have any. The bill was defeated, but not heavily defeated, and the arguments in its favor evidently made a deep impression, which will do much to hasten a vigorous attempt to deal with the question of drunkenness in some way or other. The strongest objection made to it was, that if the regulation of the liquor traffic to this extent was called for at all, it ought to be general, and enforced by Parliament, and not left to the discretion of local majorities. It was stated in the debates that \$500,000,000 are spent annually in drink in the United Kingdom.

"THE NEW DEPARTURE."

REPUBLICANS of all shades of opinion have for a good while been urging on the Democrats the propriety and expediency of accepting "accomplished facts," that is, of formally acknowledging in the public utterances of the party that the war and the amendments to the Constitution adopted since the war had settled certain questions beyond further dispute or cavil. These questions are the non-existence of the constitutional rights of secession, the abolition and perpetual prohibition of slavery, and the equality of all men before the law. Republicans have furthermore urged on them the propriety of acknowledging the validity of the public debt, and the duty of the nation to discharge it in coin, according to the terms of the contract, and in accordance with the good old Democratic doctrine that there was no money known to the Government of the United States except hard money.

For six years the Democrats have resolutely refused to do any of these things. They have encouraged the South in the belief that the war had settled nothing except the momentary superiority of the North in strength. They have denied the validity of the three amendments which put into legal form the *de facto* changes effected by the war in the status of certain classes of citizens, and provided fresh securities against unequal or discriminating legislation; and they have persisted in denying the validity of the assurances given by the Government in the hour of its extremity to the persons from whom it borrowed money as to the amounts they would receive in repayment—or, in other words, have stoutly maintained that if one borrows money when his credit is very low, he may, afterwards, honestly repay it as if his credit had been very good when he borrowed, no matter what the terms of his contract were—a doctrine for which it would be difficult to claim any higher source than the mock-auction shop or the far-bank. They have fought through two Presidential campaigns on this policy of negation, and have failed miserably in both. They could not get the country to acknowledge that nothing was changed by the war, and that the one business of sensible men was to get back as fast as possible to the point from which we started in 1861. What has made their persistence all the more extraordinary was the plainness with which the Republicans were profiting by it. There has rarely been a party in power which, since 1865, has offered so many tempting points of attack to an able and energetic opposition as the Republican party. Its legislation for the South, and its financial and foreign policy, although, perhaps, far better than the Democrats would have furnished in its place, and as good as we had any right to expect, were nevertheless full of imperfections of the grossest and most glaring kind, out of which an opposition which was as numerically strong in the country as the Democratic opposition was, might have made formidable use. The results of reconstruction legislation at the South have been pitiable; the manipulation of the Supreme Court has been shameful; the debauchery of the civil service—debauchery continued, too, most barefacedly in the teeth of strong professions of zeal for reform—has been flagrant, and all three have apparently afforded materials for an overwhelming Democratic victory; and yet the Democrats have made nothing out of them whatever. The address of their members of Congress, at the close of the last session, read not like the indictment of eager and triumphant accusers, as it might have been made to read, but like the abject apology of men who have failed miserably, and do not exactly know why. In fact, read in the light of the accounts of the Democrats given by the leading Republican papers, there was something very amusing about it. According to these papers, the Democratic chiefs were brigands of enormous stature, of inexhaustible resources, reckless courage, and ferocious and implacable temper; the address, however, sounded like a plea for consideration, or for some cold victuals and old clothes, from a parcel of puny little conscripts who had made an attempt to storm a great stronghold, and gave it up because the villains inside fired at them.

A considerable portion of the party, headed by Mr. Vallandigham, seem to have learned wisdom at last, and propose to surrender all the principal points in their former creed, and to begin their opposition to the party in power on a new line; to do, in fact, what the Republicans have been long wanting them to do, and abusing them for not doing;

that is, accept the situation as settled by the war, and offer the country some reasons for supporting them which have no direct connection with the war. They offer, in short, to do what the Republican party has been doing—maintain the results of the war, and to do something which the Republican party has thus far neglected or failed to do—correct and restrain the evils growing out of the war. They offer, for instance, while adhering to the three new constitutional amendments, to oppose the dangerous tendency which the Republican party has for some time been manifesting to treat the amendments as having practically abrogated the whole Constitution; or, in other words, as having constituted the majority of both Houses as supreme judges of what is or what is not constitutional. They offer to treat the reconstruction measures as finalities—that is, to put the Southern States on a footing of equality with the Northern States, and put further interference with their affairs on exactly the same level with interference in the affairs of New York or Massachusetts. They call for universal amnesty, and while they denounce lawlessness on the part of mobs, they also denounce that disregard of law on the part of the legislature which is displayed in such measures as the Ku-klux Act, which not only disregards the supreme law of the land, but creates an officer unknown to the law, viz., a dictator. They call, too, for a revenue tariff, or, in other words, for the cessation of what is perhaps the most prolific source of corruption, the attempt to protect native industry by means of taxation. But instead of calling for reform in the civil service, they propose to take the work of collecting the Federal revenues from one set of rascals, the Federal employees, and hand it over to another set of rascals, the State employees; and they ask still to have the Government debts paid in greenbacks—that is, one promise to pay substituted for another.

Now, though this programme, which first made its appearance under Vallandigham's auspices at Dayton, has since been adopted by the State Conventions in Ohio and Tennessee, and though there is every sign that it will make way enough with the Democracy at large to have a fair chance of adoption at the Presidential Convention next year, it will need an uncommonly strong candidate, stronger than the Democracy is likely to adopt, to give it any great weight with the country, owing in the main to the general want of faith in the honesty and good sense of the men who, in case of a Democratic victory, would be sure to manage the Administration at Washington.

But however little value it may have as a platform, it has a great deal of value as a sign of the times. Whatever else it may be or may not be, this it is: a bid for the support of that large body of Republicans who are very sick of Republican doings, and who long for a decent excuse for trying both new measures and new men. It is impossible to overlook certain facts: 1. That during the present Administration nothing whatever has been done until now to reform the civil service, in spite of the loud and oft-repeated promises on the subject. 2. That a great blow has been struck at the purity, independence, and usefulness of the Supreme Court and of all courts, by packing the court to procure a sudden reversal of a carefully considered decision. 3. That so far from any steps having been taken towards a return to specie payments, this packing of the court was resorted to with the direct purpose of getting a judgment which made a return to specie payments more difficult and uncertain than ever, and this packing has been formally and publicly justified by the Secretary of the Treasury. 4. That no serious attempt has been made to reform the revenue, or infuse order or method into the tariff, which is now in a state of as great confusion as it was four years ago; and that, so far as we know anything of the mind of the party, it is occupied rather with the discovery of means of avoiding the question altogether than of dealing with it honestly and fairly. 5. That the time and attention of the Administration during four years have been mainly occupied with the project of annexing a semi-barbarous island occupied by a turbulent population unused to civil government, and that it was never so intent on this scheme as at the moment when Congress was appointing the President a dictator as a possible substitute for regular civil government in half the Union. The one positive step in the history of the Republican party that can be urged as a set-off to all this is the conclusion of the treaty with England, the value and importance of which we have no wish to underrate; but it is well to consider

whether a year hence people will be disposed to regard this one piece of foreign policy a compensation for the almost total neglect of internal reforms.

THE NEXT STAGE IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE course taken by events in Paris has been almost exactly what most observers of French politics expected it to be; that is, a monarchy has been overturned by the rush of a mob into the legislature, or by "escalade," as the French themselves now call it; a provisional government has been formed by a selection from the bystanders, and this government has taken on the ways of a republic; but, though very radical, it has failed to give satisfaction to the Radicals, who have made several attempts to overturn it, and have succeeded in seizing and holding the capital for a brief period, but have been put down with great bloodshed after having greatly frightened the peasantry and property-owners, and given the administration once more a thoroughly military tone, made the commander-in-chief the most important man in the nation, and given the army once more a strong sense of its own power and importance and of its superiority to the civil authority. This is, in brief, the history of every French revolution; and, up to this point, there is never any difficulty in foretelling the principal events of a Parisian attempt at reform.

There are, however, some peculiarities in the present crisis which will probably, from this point on, give a turn to affairs in many respects novel, we will not venture as yet to say hopeful. The first and, of course, the most important of all is the complete separation in feeling and opinion between town and country which these late disturbances have revealed. In the first revolution, as well as in that of 1830, there is no doubt that Paris largely enjoyed the sympathy of the provinces. By the first revolution the peasantry gained more than any other class—how much they gained is strikingly sketched in Erckmann-Chatelain's "Histoire d'un Paysan," and they threw themselves into it heart and soul. In 1830, again, the revolt was directed against an attempt to restore partially, at least, the old régime. Charles X. was a Bourbon; he brought back the *majorats*, or law of primogeniture, and he filled the offices and the army with old émigrés, whose names were still remembered and hated by the country people. During the eighteen years of the Orleans rule, however, the peasants began to prosper and feel secure. The generation to which the passions of the Revolution had come down had died out, and there grew up in France a love of repose such as in all its history it had never known. The outbreak of 1848 took the country by surprise, and the great depression of trade and industry which prevailed during the three years of the Republic strengthened the growing distrust and dislike of revolutions as well as prepared for the Empire.

The overthrow of the Empire was accepted partly in disgust with the Imperial management of affairs, and partly from a hope that the Republic would make a better defence against the invader. The Republic, however, totally failed in the field, and the first and greatest effect of its failure was to convince people of the folly of "swapping horses while crossing the stream," or, in other words, of the enormous disadvantage a nation labors under which has no government that can survive disaster. The spectacle, too, of Prussian gravity and discipline, and devotion to duty, has made a profound impression on the French mind. One can hardly take up a French periodical without seeing evidences of this. Moreover, as was predicted by one very shrewd observer, the sufferings and misfortunes of the war have aroused a very marked revival of religious feeling, how marked those who have any knowledge of the French character will see from the recent passage, by a majority of 417 to 3, by the Assembly at Versailles, of a resolution to "offer up public prayers for a cessation of the civil war." A year ago this would have excited inextinguishable laughter and no end of epigrams. If we combine this weariness of revolutions and this peculiarly solemn frame of mind, we shall find ourselves in the presence of a state of things of which the like has never been seen in France. The nearest approach to it was made during the depression in 1712 preceding the battle of Denain, when old Louis XIV. made up his mind, as he informed Marshal Villars, to die sword in hand at the head of his troops.

The influence of this peculiar mental and moral condition of the French on their political future has been greatly fortified by one other feature of the late extraordinary struggle. Our readers may remember that we predicted at the beginning of the second siege that, if M. Thiers succeeded in retaining the hold of his government on France, in spite of its expulsion from Paris, he would open up a new chapter in French history. Now, he *has* succeeded in doing this, and in doing it he has broken a spell under which France has lain for two centuries. For the first time, the country at large has had a stand-up fight with Paris, and has soundly thrashed it. There has on this occasion been no uncertainty as to the character of the conflict. It has not been waged between one class of Parisians and another class of Parisians, or between the Parisians and a government set up by themselves, as in 1830 and 1848. This time, the country has engaged the capital fairly and squarely, and subdued it. Moreover, it has been the general opinion of Frenchmen, during the last forty years, that if the Reds got possession of Paris, for ever so short a period, society would be ruined, and anarchy spread through the country. The Reds have had possession of Paris for three months, and under circumstances more favorable than are ever again likely to present themselves, and nothing more serious than the destruction of life and property within the capital has come of it. We think it is impossible to overestimate the effect on French politics of the removal of this terrible bugbear, which has weighed on the imagination of every generation since 1793, and has made it impossible to secure anything like calm deliberation in the organization of a government. In 1795, in 1830, in 1848 and 1851, people rushed into any plan which promised to protect Paris from the Reds. It is possible, and not improbable, that whatever régime is now set up, will be set up with greater deliberation, and a more distinct reference to the wants and wishes of the provinces—that is, of France at large—than any which has preceded it.

What will that régime be? It may be calculated with almost certainty that the Bonapartes are out of the field. Nobody can reign in France who has surrendered to a foreign enemy at the head of 100,000 men. Supposing monarchy to be resolved on, the Count de Chambord would have a good chance if the present Assembly were to act as a Constitutional Convention, which it has, however, no right to do, and will probably not attempt to do. He has issued an address, from which the only thing clear is that he would, if restored, throw himself into the arms of the church, and this may win him favor with the peasantry; but, on the other hand, he is a Bourbon, which is the one name of French history which the peasantry dread, and he has no hold on the army or the literary class. Nevertheless, he represents what is now uppermost in French minds—the idea of continuity and permanence, and he has no children; and the late fusion with the Orleanists would not only put the succession in good hands, but would give the men of the Orleans family a great deal of influence on the court. On the whole, perhaps, the chances of his restoration are just now stronger than any other chances. But supposing, as is probable, no immediate decision should be reached as to the form of the government, there is little doubt that reflection, in the absence of disorder, would be favorable to a republic. There is no denying it, and nobody does deny it, that French manners are now unfavorable to a monarchy, and there is nothing left in French character into which any monarchy could be fairly expected to strike its roots. A monarchy, therefore, can hardly at best be more than a makeshift; a republic must come at last; but a republic cannot exist in conjunction with a large standing army, commanded by a man whose adhesion is necessary to the very existence of the government, and to whom all the offices of the state are open; and in the present state of the artisan mind in France, there is no prospect that the standing army can be dispensed with or will be dispensed with. So that wherever we begin to discuss the chances of a republic, we find ourselves brought up against a stone wall, against which some of us are like to butt our heads. There is as yet not enough republicanism in France for the government of one Swiss canton, and there is no class of the community which has less of it than the Republicans themselves. But it must be admitted that, on the whole, the events of the last three months, though for the moment unfavorable to republicanism,

have probably done more for it in reality than anything that has yet occurred, by satisfying the country of its ability to do without Paris and of the feebleness of the Red resources.

THE LABOR QUESTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of such labor as is so intelligently performed by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, whose second annual report has been recently presented to the Legislature of that State. The report itself is a model for clearness, system, practical arrangement, and especially for the thorough recognition of the nature of the facts required by a body of legislators, though it is much to be feared that they will be the last to be benefited thereby. It does not need a very close scrutiny to recognize that Colonel Oliver, the chief of the Bureau, is in warm sympathy with the workingmen, and from conviction inclined to favor their views. But, after a careful study of the volume, and in spite of a sense of disappointment at not finding the reverse—for we were in hopes of meeting with a strong, logical, and intelligent defence of the employer—we must acquit the author of the report of every suspicion of partiality in what was, after all, his main work, the collection of the facts themselves. These are, as we have said, of the utmost importance. They comprise a complete history of all the strikes that occurred during the year, with the testimony in detail of all the witnesses examined; an admirable collection of statistics relating to the wages, expenses, food, dwellings, social condition, savings, habits, and hours of labor of men, women, and children, in several hundreds of different employments; and, finally, an immense amount of highly interesting testimony, mainly from the workpeople themselves, on every one of these various questions.

The general effect of the attentive perusal of this bulky volume is eminently discouraging. The proofs are numerous and unmistakable to the almost incredible fact that the condition of the working-classes throughout Massachusetts is a declining one, that the contrast between the relative positions of employer and employed is steadily becoming greater, that the number of men who emerge from the condition of workingmen is extremely small, and that the relations between employer and employed are becoming more and more hostile and defiant. When we read that the average earnings of over 17,000 persons, employed in thirty-three cotton-spinning establishments, including the better paid overseers and foremen, was eighty cents per day, or less than five dollars a week; that even at these rates work is not steady all the year round; that few are able, even if the work is had, to work steadily ten and eleven hours a day; that large numbers are obliged to stop work from sheer exhaustion; that young lads walk thirty and more miles a day while tending the machines; that many become intemperate from overwork; that the change of hands in large factories is frequently equal to an entire change every four months; that very few persons die while they are operatives, because, finding their health give way under their toils and exposures, they leave their employment and cease to be operatives,—when we read such things as these, we are introduced to a condition of affairs the existence of which is far from being generally known. When we read of men being dismissed from their occupation for the sole reason that they had been prominent in discussing the eight-hour movement, and refused employment in every mill in the State, where notices from their previous employers had preceded them; of men and their families incontinently turned out of house and home because they could not agree on the subject of factory wages with the owner of the tenement; of numerous employers combining to prevent the men from belonging to associations and labor-unions; of employers who openly boast that since a labor-union broke up, "they can do as they please with the men"; of employers who, claiming to be Christians, testify before a committee concerning their men: "If they were kept at work fourteen hours a day, it would be better for them. *They would die as quick one way as another.* They will drink. I don't know of anything in their employment that makes them so, *though it is fatiguing work*,"—when we read of such a spirit as that on the part of employers, we need no longer wonder at the growing frequency and increasing bitterness of strikes. On the contrary, we are filled with a conviction that there is a radical wrong

somewhere which has brought about this change from the time when Lowell factory-girls earned handsome marriage portions with two or three years' labor, and found time, after working-hours, to write, edit, and read a very respectable newspaper. Where the evil lies, it would be presumptuous to indicate with any degree of positiveness. That it is more deeply-seated than is generally believed, we have no doubt. That the reading of such reports as Col. Oliver's will convince many persons of the gravity of the evil, and reconcile them to the freest and most exhaustive discussion of the remedies, is the chief as it will be the most immediate result of the establishment of the Bureau itself. It is unfortunately too true that the prejudice against everything favoring of so-called Labor Reform for the moment almost bars its intelligent discussion, and it is particularly to be regretted that the extreme bulk of the Bureau Report will prevent many from examining it who might otherwise contribute to make its contents known. But the mere existence of a permanent Bureau, authorized to take testimony on the subject, and capable of exercising that authority with fairness and intelligence, is a long step towards a correct understanding of this great problem.

Among the many different phases of the labor question, on which an extremely valuable collection of evidence is given, we have been especially struck with the influence of the trades-unions on intemperance. With the single exception, as far as we remember, of the gentleman whose evidence in favor of fourteen hours' work is quoted above, every witness declares that the trades-unions are most decided promoters of temperance. They furnish generally a meeting-place, which they seek to make attractive to members, and where at least once a week the dram-shop is neglected for business in which all are interested. The trades-union encourages economy, and raises the *esprit de corps* of the workmen. Apart from the question of wages, on which many different opinions prevail, the influence of trades-unions is almost unanimously described as beneficial both by workmen, employers, and disinterested outsiders. Notably is the evidence striking and interesting of the influence of the great Crispin organization in advancing the prosperity, sobriety, and intelligence of entire districts, the benefits of the organization being in a measure shared by thousands who do not belong to it. This evidence contrasts materially with the newspaper accounts received at the time of the great shoemakers' strike, and comes largely from merchants and others in the towns affected, who look with infinite disappointment on Mr. Sampson's Chinese, because they buy nothing, spend nothing, pay no share of the taxes, and are "no better than so much machinery."

The part of the report, however, which of all is, in our opinion, the most remarkable, is that relating to agriculture in Massachusetts. It may be summed up in two words: rapid decay. Increased nominal value of land, higher rents, fewer farms occupied by owners; diminished product, general decline of prosperity, lower wages; a more ignorant population, increasing number of women employed at hard outdoor labor (surest sign of a declining civilization), and steady deterioration in the style of farming—these are the conditions described by a cumulative mass of evidence that is perfectly irresistible, and that is unfortunately only too strongly confirmed by such details of census statistics as have so far been made public.

THE BORROWING POWER OF CORPORATIONS.

STUDENTS of social science have long since agreed that association has been the most potent of the many levers employed by modern civilization in its career of material progress. In an age marked by a growing indisposition to entrust to governments any powers not deemed absolutely essential to the maintenance of the state, association alone could render possible the creation of those vast works of public utility which are the wonder even of their own creators, and which would have been impossible save for that union and concentration of numberless individual efforts which we describe as the principle of association. Railroads, telegraphs, banks, life and fire insurance, steamships, bridges, tunnels, and canals, are all enterprises that the spirit of the age has been unwilling to commit to government management and government control, and which in their magnitude

were entirely beyond the means of private individuals, even in this age of colossal fortunes. Association has rendered them possible. Hence we are accustomed to look upon association as one of the most beneficent powers of our modern civilization, are indisposed to scrutinize its influences too closely, and are for ever tempted to frown down all attempts to disparage a system to which we must acknowledge ourselves so largely indebted. Yet it would be no exaggeration to say that the results of association to-day are perhaps fully as pernicious as they were beneficent twenty years ago. Not that nature has changed, not that society has changed, not that association has in itself ceased to be powerful for good, but that true association scarcely exists any longer, and that the outward forms and semblances of association have been and are seized upon and perverted to utterly improper uses.

The principle of association is the union of large numbers of small amounts of capital into one grand whole, and entrusting the employment of that capital to the management of one or more individuals selected by the owners and contributors of the capital. It is evident that the essential features of the system are: the contribution of capital, the control of the capital by the owners and contributors by means of the selection of managers; the responsibility of the managers towards the contributors; and the division of profits among the original contributors of the capital. Of all these essential features of the system, not one remains in the practice of to-day. The last thing contributed by the founders of associative enterprises is capital. Those that do contribute capital in such form as it ever is contributed, have no particle of control over the management. The managers are not in the least responsible to the contributors of capital, nor do the latter participate in the profits, though they are invariably made to bear the whole losses.

The perversion of association began when it was discovered that associations could borrow. Large undertakings, to which large capitals had been actually contributed, and which possessed valuable property, were early recognized as admirably safe borrowers, and speedily acquired great and general credit. As long as their borrowings were confined to large amounts, only to be obtained from great capitalists, wealthy firms, or other large associations like themselves, no strikingly evil results followed. For all these classes of lenders necessarily have the ability and the caution to investigate the condition of enterprises to which they advance large amounts, and generally have the indirect influence to control in a measure the money so advanced. But when it was discovered that the property of an association could be mortgaged, and the bond divided up into numberless small amounts, and that lenders could be found who would advance money on the security of such a bond and a mortgage, and that large amounts could in that way be borrowed from numerous small lenders, who advanced their money on the general reputation of the corporation, and whose limited means of enquiry and scattered influence had ceased to be a power—then the ability to borrow money became the destruction of the system of association. Naturally, at first money was borrowed in this fashion on mortgage bonds by associations who possessed property to mortgage, whose original contributors or shareholders had really contributed large amounts of capital, which they controlled by means of the managers of their election, and had consequently a powerful interest in securing honest and skilful managers to preserve the property. The theory in those days was that the shareholders or actual contributors of capital had so large a stake in the success of an enterprise, that its management was safe in their hands, and that the property mortgaged to the lender of further amounts of capital was wisely left to the original owners. In the early days of corporation loans, this belief proved generally well-founded, and so high became the credit of corporations, and so extremely convenient was the form of security devised, that large classes of investors, both for large and small amounts, habitually lent their capital to the various large corporations by buying their mortgage bonds, and that mortgage bonds came to be recognized as a safe and desirable form of investment.

It must be evident that the safety and desirability of this form of investment depend essentially upon two things: the existence and value of the property, and the character of the management secured by the stockholders and original contributors of capital. Both these

considerations are, however, entirely disregarded in the modern system of forming corporations. The original contributions of capital, the actual stockholders, the property in existence, are all found to be totally unnecessary, nay cumbersome; and a modern corporation is virtually nothing but a device by means of which a few individuals can borrow enormous sums of money without personal responsibility; can use this money, without the slightest interference on the part of the lender or anybody else, for such purposes as they see fit; can devote this money to the most dangerous and hazardous enterprises, the loss in which, if any, falls upon the lender—the profit in which, if any, reverts to the individual; and can do, under the guise of a corporation, a number of things which, if done as individuals, would stamp them as cheats, swindlers, and rogues. With some few rare exceptions, the entire system of association to-day is nothing but a shield authorized by law to protect dishonest men from the legal consequences of dishonorable actions.

An association to-day, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, is not an association of men who unite their capital for some joint enterprise. It is, on the contrary, an association of men who never put a dollar of their own into such an enterprise, but who, under the false pretence of having thus risked their own money, borrow the money of others. Of all the railroad companies formed in the United States within the last five years, not five per cent. ever had any capital of their own. A dozen men procure a charter, subscribe nominally a certain amount of the stock, constituting themselves the stockholders; a stockholders' meeting is then called, and the twelve elect themselves directors, and, under the pretence of representing a body of stockholders, whose capital is supposed to lend respectability and solvency to their enterprise, proceed to commit a variety of acts which not one of them would dare to do as an individual unprotected by his official character, as a director acting under instructions from his stockholders—that is, from himself. Money is borrowed in enormous sums on the security of a mortgage upon property which does not exist; the entire risk of the success of the enterprise falls upon the lender of the money, the buyer of the mortgage-bonds, for there is no one else upon whom it can fall; the unfortunate lender thinks himself amply secured by a mortgage upon some existing property, and further protected by the watchfulness of a large body of stockholders who are supposed to have invested their capital in the enterprise. A better scheme for borrowing money without incurring any liability was never devised. The lender surrenders all right to interfere for twenty years or more, so long as his interest is punctually paid, and the borrower, so long as he pays the interest, is almost untrammelled in the uses to which he may put the principal.

If the evil results of this system were confined to the relations between the borrower and the lender, great as might be the mischief which will some day flow from it, it would be insignificant compared to the evils which it already daily inflicts upon the community. The whole legislation concerning corporations is based upon the original theory and practice of association, as we have described it. In order to induce the formation of companies, the responsibility of individual stockholders was legally limited to the extent of their share in the property of the company—in other words, the shareholders were virtually by law freed from all responsibility of whatever kind. In order to give the shareholders unlimited control over their property, the directors were made responsible almost exclusively to their stockholders, whose capital interest in the enterprise is supposed by the law, as well as by the public, to be ample guarantee that they will authorize no wrongful act on the part of the directors. But, under the modern practice, the directors being generally the chief, if not the sole, stockholders, are responsible as directors only to themselves as stockholders, and as stockholders they are responsible to nobody, while they have not even that limited responsibility as stockholders which they would have if they had invested capital in the enterprise, for the simple reason that they did not invest any. In this way the law has created a number of associations or corporations, which are supposed, from their inherent nature, to exercise a control over the actions of their representatives, but which, by the very law itself, are absolutely shielded from all responsibility. There are to-day in the

United States hundreds of associations, consisting each of them of a very limited number of individuals, upon whom the law confers enormous privileges, who, upon the strength of a sort of traditional reputation of corporations in general, borrow hundreds of millions of money from deluded investors, and are by the law itself absolutely free from all responsibility. It is this borrowed money that is used to corrupt legislators, to buy privileges, to influence judges and sustain armies of lawyers, to resist the just claims of the public, and to maintain the entire system of corporate tyranny which threatens to make the principle of association odious in the eyes of the people and render it practically useless in the future.

No thoughtful person to-day doubts that the associative principle as now put in practice is no longer endurable. Either great works that cannot be accomplished by individual means must cease, which is almost equivalent to bidding civilization cease its progress, or means must be found to limit the power or to increase the responsibility of the managers of corporations. Whether this generation is equal to the task may well be doubted. But certain it is that no measure will ever be effective that is not based upon a restoration of the old original rule that the capital of an association must be furnished by the associates, and that borrowing must be restricted within very narrow limits, if not entirely prohibited. It is the borrowing power that destroys the responsibility of the managers, that has virtually eliminated the stockholder from all modern corporations. It is only by destroying the borrowing power that the stockholder can be brought back into active existence, and the people prevented from plunging into some hasty action to rid themselves of the insufferable tyranny, fraud, plunder, and corruption of the great corporations, who are to-day the masters, not the servants, of the people.

Correspondence.

"TOTAL ABSTINENCE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In reading the article on "Prohibition" in your issue of May 25, although I entirely agree with the views therein expressed in regard to the inexpediency of attempting to suppress liquor drinking and the liquor traffic by law, I could not but think, as I have often thought when reading your remarks on the subject in other numbers of the *Nation*, that you very strangely ignore the strongest point which the rational advocates of the duty of total abstinence, as a duty binding upon every individual person, have made, the only one which I do not recollect to have seen triumphantly refuted. You say: "I may be, and often am, forbidden to do things which, though harmless in my case, would work mischief if all did them; but I am not prohibited from doing things which, if all did them, would still be perfectly harmless, lest some persons should do them in hurtful excess." Exactly: I do not see how your position can be successfully assailed.

But the habit of using intoxicating liquors, like the kindred habits of using opium and certain other drugs, has this terrible danger attending it, that it is liable in the course of indulgence to cease to be a mere habit, and to assume the character of a disease. I believe that the doctors are pretty nearly agreed on this point, that a drunkard has laid himself under actual physical disadvantages, and diminished, to a vastly greater extent than can be accounted for by the force of a mere habit, his powers of resistance. Even when a man by any means recovers himself from the grip of this habit, as a very few do, he does not throw it off as he would the habit of card-playing, for instance, with which it is often mistakenly compared, but he holds his liberty, usually, only on the condition of a rigid avoidance of temptation. However, such a one, being forewarned, ought to be also forearmed. It is his own fault if he allows himself to be tempted. Now although it is by no means true, as many too ardent teetotalers would seem to be willing to have us believe, that every one who begins the practice of "moderate drinking" will eventually fall a victim to *oinomania*, still I think that no one will deny:

1. That a very large proportion of those who habitually drink wine and distilled liquors do become drunkards.

2. That the point at which the habit begins to merge into a disease is almost impossible to distinguish, and is generally passed without notice by the drinker. "He can leave off whenever he will," and he is seldom

aware till it is too late that he has got himself into that state where the odds are overwhelmingly great that he never "will."

3. That there is no method yet discovered of telling beforehand who will and who will not pass this point, who can and who cannot with safety enter upon a course of moderate drinking. If there were any such method known, I think the last bit of ground would be cut away from under the feet of the total abstainers. It seems to be a matter of natural constitution; not a few physicians think that the tendency is inherited in many cases.

4. Not only weak and foolish characters are drawn under the power of this fatal habit, even to the point of becoming downright sots, but men of ability, genius, and strong character are not safe.

On these considerations the advocate of total abstinence bases his argument. It is no question of example; it is no question of the abstract right or wrong of liquor-drinking—nor, to my mind, does it touch the matter of the German artisan's beer-drinking—it is no question of what is expedient or right in times or countries other than our own, Scriptural or otherwise; it is a fact that, here and now, we have in the community a large class, who cannot be distinguished from the rest or warned beforehand, with whom the question whether or not they shall become drunkards depends for its answer simply on the answer to the question, whether they allow themselves to use intoxicating drinks to an extent only that to their differently constituted neighbors would be productive of no injury whatever. In this view of the case, I think that the total abstainer's sentiments in regard to the "drinking customs of society," whether defensible or not, are at least not utterly unreasonable and fanatical.

T.

BROAD BROOK, CONN., May 26, 1871.

[We have not discussed total abstinence in the *Nation*, and have never said or insinuated that it was "unreasonable and fanatical" for a man to practise it and try to persuade others to do so. What we object to is attempts to enforce total abstinence by law. The argument in favor of voluntary abstinence which "T." urges is a very strong one, but we doubt much whether the risk of becoming drunkards will ever, in the long run, have more influence on men's conduct than any of the other great risks of life. Men take risks of all kinds every day, in many instances a great deal higher than the risk of becoming drunkards, in the pursuit of both business and pleasure, without any hesitation; and there is probably no point on which they are more reckless than their health, so that saying drunkenness is a disease does not heighten its terrors for them. They abuse their bodies abominably in working and playing, eating and drinking, in spite of the clearest knowledge as to the consequences of their acts. It is safe to say that the working power of the male portion of the race is reduced by one-half, and that of women by three-fourths, through reckless modes of living—that is, through the same want of self-control and of sense of responsibility which leads to the excessive use of alcoholic drinks. We believe, for instance, that a large proportion of the vice and crime of the world, drunkenness included, and of the feeble and inefficient performance of daily duties, is due to badness of digestion; and though this is very well known, and the ways of improving digestion are pretty well understood, the number of people who make any persistent and energetic efforts to improve their digestion or keep it good is very small. The singling out of drunkenness, therefore, as the root of our social troubles, and the one excess on which we need to expend our energies, is open to the same objection as all panaceas. We may add that we believe there does not exist a scrap of statistics as to the proportion borne by the number of drunkards to the number of moderate drinkers; that most of the assertions of the advocates of temperance on this subject are wild exaggerations or misrepresentations; and that the fact that all drunkards began by being moderate drinkers proves nothing more against moderate drinking than pugilism proves against athletic exercises. Every pugilist begins by being an athlete, and had he totally refrained from inordinate attention to his muscles would never have taken to the ring. Could it be shown that fondness for athletic exercises generally, or in a majority or in a large proportion of cases, led to pugilism, we do not deny that it would be a man's duty to avoid bestowing much attention on his muscles, but it is just at this point—the connection between the use and abuse—that the friends of temperance are weakest, and have the scantiest supply of facts.

We decline, it will be seen, to treat the craving for stimulants as a disease in itself, because it is apparently as general and as old almost as any other desire. Very few persons are exempt from it. We do not like to cite living examples in support of our argument, and especially where the example is a distinguished and universally respected man, and yet we may be permitted to call attention to the fact that Mr. Colfax, though a rigid teetotaler, is now suffering severely from excessive smoking, aggravated, it is said by excessive use of tea and coffee. We do not mention this in depreciation of him, but simply to suggest to the friends of temperance the possibility that they have not got to the bottom of this matter. Most of the movements to bring about social reforms are, we are sorry to say, carried on by exceptional persons, blessed or cursed with mental or physical peculiarities which make most of their gospel perfectly useless to the great mass of mankind. The rule of right reason will never be established in these matters till its apostles are more largely supplied by the "average man."

—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

MESSRS. G. P. PUTNAM & SONS will republish immediately, in pamphlet form, the prophetic article in *Blackwood* for May, entitled "The Battle of Dorking; or, Reminiscences of a Volunteer."—"The Memoirs of John Quincy Adams," comprising his Diary from 1795 to 1848, and edited by the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, is in the press of J. B. Lippincott & Co. They will also shortly publish the following novels: "Rookstone," by Katherine S. Macquoid; "The Quiet Miss Godolphin," by Ruth Garrett; and "A Chance Child," by Edward Garrett; a book of poems by Emily M. Kiehl; and two medical works: "Diseases of the Ear," by Lawrence Turnbull, M.D.; and a new edition of Beck's "Medical Jurisprudence."—Messrs. Geo. A. Leavitt & Co., of this city, sell at auction on Thursday and Friday, June 15 and 16, a considerable collection of works with various attractions for bibliophiles, of which these four, however, are likely to command most attention: Nos. 203, 204, 205, and 336. The first three embrace a remarkably large number of Craikshank's works, six of which (Lot 203) are original sketches in pencil or sepia. The last is the fifth edition of Granger's "Biographical History of England," containing Mark Noble's Continuation, and greatly enhanced in value by the insertion of upwards of 1,500 portraits, including Richardson's series. Six volumes folio have thus been extended to twenty-one.

—Prof. Gustavus Hinrichs writes us, in reference to our late remarks on his quarterly periodical, the *School Laboratory of Physical Science*, that he expects from this publication a very moderate influence on the diffusion of physical science in the common schools, and that in Iowa they depend on exactly the instrumentalities which we recommended. In the laboratory under his charge in the State University, "more than two hundred students have experimented throughout the greater part of this school-year; about one-half of these will continue this course next year; and quite a number will spend one or more years still in it. In each of the above grades," continues the professor, "we have students who will enter the educational field as teachers. Besides, we have promised to conduct, in the laboratory, after the close of the present school-year, a Teachers' Institute in Physical Science, for older teachers now active in various stations in our State." We take pleasure in recording these facts, and in making this further extract from our correspondent's letter: "We try to discountenance the mania for teaching science by 'illustration,' which has led to the purchase of all sorts of fancy furniture, diagrams, charts, etc., and of necessity leads away from nature. In how many schools do you find the orrery rather than a telescope? And yet a telescope, costing less than the orrery, would show much that the unaided eye cannot see; but, above all, it would compel the teacher to take his pupils out into the free air, there to study the stars themselves, and not fancy pictures."

—The New Haven *Palladium* appears to have authority for saying that the murderer Ruloff, in prosecution of his philological extravagances, called on Prof. Whitney, of Yale, towards the end of 1868, and made known in confidence the main outlines of his pretended discovery. "It was, in general, to the effect that the liquids, *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r*, are the substantial and essential elements of words and roots, all other elements being subsidiary accretions to these; words, therefore, containing these elements (which, moreover, are variously interchangeable with one

another) are to be compared or identified as originally the same." We may, we suppose, trace this delusion in the man's assumed names—*Leurio*, as he called himself when he visited New Haven, being in two senses the equivalent of *Ruloff*. Prof. Whitney, regarding him as an object of commiseration, put him off as gently as he could, and, when he reappeared at the Philological Convention at Poughkeepsie, allowed him to name a committee to examine his theory. "The gentlemen he selected were of the highest and most unexceptionable character; but they, as was anticipated, absolutely refused to look into his scheme, on the ground that the association had no business to meddle with anybody's secret, that was on sale, to recommend it to a purchaser, or the contrary; it could only examine what was open to the whole learned public to examine. He was, as might perhaps have been expected, greatly dissatisfied with the decision." It would now remain for Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews, whose *Alwato* shows a remarkable analogy to the Ruloff theory, to present himself at Rochester for the judgment of the learned, were it not that he finds it more convenient to obtain their endorsement in advance of publication and to defy their opinion afterwards.

—The difficulties people of moderate means have in procuring proper pictures for their walls, owing mainly to the racket kept up by the art critics, and by the ridiculous pretence put forward by the dilettante that the popular judgment about pictures is not always to be trusted, are, we are glad to say, in a fair way of being overcome in a manner that will satisfy all parties. Boston, the source of so many contrivances for making domestic life easy, has produced the new arrangement, which consists simply in the supply of pictures to match the furniture by the furniture-dealer. The *Boston Transcript* informs us that Messrs. — & —, noted furniture dealers in that city, have opened a fine gallery of pictures in their store, "in connection with the sets of furniture." "The pictures embrace various subjects of landscape and still-life, many the production of local artists." "Good pictures," as the *Transcript* very truly observes, "have become the necessity of house furnishing, but the expense of these wall decorations confines many to cheaper works of art. Messrs. — & — conceived the idea of making the furnishing of houses more complete by associating with their chamber and other sets suitable pictures, which are sold in conjunction, at rates far more reasonable than could be obtained by separate purchase." We have no doubt they will profit by the "idea." Nothing can be more convenient than to be able to get landscapes and still life to match your carpets, bedsteads, and crockery chosen for you by an experienced furniture-dealer. The artists must also, we suggest, keep the furniture in mind in choosing their subjects. "A Duck Pond in July," for instance, would go nicely with a painted set; "A Dog after a Cat," would be the thing for a plain maple or oak set; "A Girl Coming through Buckwheat," would look well with plain black walnut or mahogany; while for a truly gorgeous chamber, with carving and so forth, a "King Caught by a Tornado," would be about the thing. The clothes of the figures ought always, we need hardly say, to match the carpets and curtains in the prevailing tint. Messrs. — & — ought, however, to supply books as well as pictures, and their establishment will never be complete till they do. Everybody furnishing a house wants a library, and not a few do not exactly know what books it ought to contain, and this branch of business is now left entirely to the booksellers, who send home the books without ever having seen the wall paper, carpets, chairs, or tables, or, indeed, anything in the house. The result is frequently the most shocking incongruities. By getting the books where you get your furniture, all this would be avoided, and a single order, given by a young couple in the course of half-an-hour, would surround them at once with all "the evidences of culture" at a very moderate cost.

—We some time ago copied an English announcement of Phillips's "Dictionary of Biographical Reference" (Sampson Low, Son & Marston), of which the most striking promise was that it should contain one hundred thousand names. We now have the preface and specimen pages before us, and can define the scope of the work a little more exactly. It has three principal features: (1) abundance of names, exceeding in this respect every other work of the kind, and embracing "the greatest number of distinguished Americans ever collected in one work"; (2) references at each name to one or more of a list of dictionaries which may be consulted for further particulars; (3) no more of characterization and of dates than can be comprised in one, two, or (apparently) three lines. The first page, we trust, is not to be taken as a fair specimen of the accuracy of this work. In the second column alone we note at least half a dozen serious errors. *Bistritz* for *Bistriz*, and *Fogaras* for *Fogaras*, occur in the same line. Aaron-Ariscon stands for Ariscon; the equivalent form *Hariscon*,

however, being correctly given. This word, by the bye (= Lat. *priscus*), seems to be a stumbling-block to dictionary-makers. From a similar misunderstanding of the appellation, we have "*Aba, Sam.*, king of Hungary," for *Aba-Samuel*, etc., i. e., Father Samuel; like the Turkish *Kara-George*, Black George. The second name of Aaron-Ben-Anser, Aaron-Bar-Moses, is here printed *Aaron-Bar-Moise*, in the French form, for which there is no good reason. We have, without going below the surface, marked several other errors, chiefly in single letters, of more or less consequence.

—A few English titles of interest may be added to our summary of recent or forthcoming publications. W. D. Christie's "*Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury*," of whom, if only as the friend of Locke, posterity ought to have a good opinion, is an attempt to redeem him from the harsh verdict of the historians. A very readable biography is the "*Memoir of Charles Mayne Young, the Tragedian*," by his son. A memoir of the artist, Maclise, by W. J. O'Driscoll, will not fail to have readers. Books of travel are increased by Frederic Eden's "*Nile without a Dragoman*," "*Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce in Pigtail and Petticoats*," being an overland journey from China towards India, by T. T. Cooper; "*Our Sister Republic: a Gala Trip through Tropical Mexico in 1869*," by Albert S. Evans; and "*A Journal Kept in France and Italy*," with some account of the Revolution of 1848, by Nassau W. Senior. A diary of the Siege of Paris, taken from *Galignani's Messenger*, and "*The Defence of Paris, narrated as it was seen*," by Thomas Gibson Bowles, are the two latest contributions to the history of the chief event of the Franco-Prussian war. A volume of "*Lyrical Poems*," by Francis Turner Palgrave, has been published by Macmillan. Finally, we note the following: a new volume of sermons by the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke; an "*Essay on the Druids, the Ancient Churches, and the Round Towers of Ireland*," by the Rev. Richard Smiddy; and "*Historical Narratives from the Russian*," by H. C. Romanoff.

—Since Dr. Livingstone's discovery of the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi, in 1855, not a few travellers in South Africa have sought this remarkable scene. Chapman and Baines followed him closely; solitary Englishmen have found their way there from Natal, and last June the German explorer, Eduard Mohr, succeeded in spite of numerous obstacles in reaching the falls, where he planted for the first time the North-German colors. Had he known what was then passing in Europe, and how soon his flag was to cover the whole of Germany, he would have had a still juster cause of pride as a pioneer of German science. The journey to the falls, and the impression they made on him, are narrated at length in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*. Dr. Livingstone, revisiting Garden Island, on the brink of the falls, in 1860, found that the trees which he had planted there in order to teach the Makololo arboriculture had been totally destroyed by the hippopotami, and though he planted them again, and protected them with a strong stockaded fence, he had little hope of resisting the attacks of the same enemy. In fact, the fruit-trees were down three years later when visited by Sir Richard Glyn and his brother, and Mohr, of course, reports the garden ravaged and overgrown, since there had been no one to restore it a second time. This traveller made an interesting experiment in domesticating the ostrich, having raised no less than four from the egg. They exhibited not the slightest fear of man, but on the contrary great attachment and a remarkable sense of locality. They marched with Mohr hundreds of miles, and one ("ein grosser einjähriger Hahn"), which accompanied him the longest distance, to Potchefstroom, he parted with only because its appearance on the streets frightened the foreign cattle and horses.

TREITSCHKE ON MODERN FRANCE.*

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE is one of the most eminent, and at this moment, perhaps, the most conspicuous, of German historical essayists. He combines the all-embracing knowledge of a German historian with the versatile discursiveness of a Macaulay and the elegant polish of a French review writer. In this last respect he has scarcely a rival. It is not easy to find a paragraph—one might almost say, a sentence—in his writings which is not rounded, translucent, and graceful. And he has the good fortune to be a man of the time in his fatherland. He is no ideologist; he hates political sectarianism; he has a contempt for radicalism and universal suffrage; he is German through and through. He advocates imperial unity, and does not shrink from war; he is no less an admirer of the Hohenzollerns than Carlyle is, and like him, though in a

feebleness degree, a hero-worshipper. He is a constitutionalist, yet ready to follow the lead of a Bismarck; he ignores none of the questions of the present or of the future, but demands their solution in a grand style and by grand intellects; he has closely studied his people and its opportunities, and his people has given a triumphant confirmation to his beliefs and anticipations.

The collected "*Aufsätze*" treat exclusively of themes of modern European history, and chiefly of the history of this century. Their titles, in the order in which they are presented to us, are: "*Prussia under the Teutonic Order*," "*Milton*," "*Fichte and the National Idea*," "*Hans von Gager*," "*Karl August von Wangenheim*," "*Ludwig Uhland*," "*Lord Byron and Radicalism*," "*F. C. Dahlmann*," "*The Federal State and the Unitary State*," "*Liberty*," "*The Political Life of France and Bonapartism*," "*Cavour*," "*The Republic of the United Netherlands*," "*Lessing*," "*Heinrich von Kleist*," "*Otto Ludwig*," "*Friedrich Hebbel*," "*Constitutional Monarchy in Germany*." Some were written before the war of 1866, some after it; all were published before the great Franco-Prussian struggle. This we must remark, chiefly in reference to the work on France and Bonapartism, the author's most extensive study; which, with its divisions and subdivisions—embracing three hundred and fifty octavo pages—forms rather a collection of essays on one connectedly treated subject than an essay, and to which we shall exclusively turn our attention in this notice. The importance of the subject, the exhaustive research bestowed upon it by the author, and a multitude of keen observations, original or gleaned, which cannot fail to strike the reader in connection with recent events in France, make this production particularly remarkable; and we cannot refrain from introducing it to our readers, though we are far from sharing all the conclusions the writer reaches concerning men and things in France, after closely weighing her political life in his critical balance. On account of its very richness, however, we can introduce it only in a very fragmentary way.

Herr von Treitschke finds the French particularly wanting in the sense of right, and in this defect an essential cause of the internal ailments of their body politic. It manifests itself above all in the absence of almost all perception of the right of foreign nations. This perception was gradually destroyed by the admiration for the conquests of Louis XIV. and those of the Convention, and the intoxication into which the victories of the First Empire plunged the people.

"It almost appears that that gifted nation is tacitly conscious of the truth that true creativeness and genius it has developed almost exclusively in war. In blind eagerness for war, all parties meet. The radicals are convinced that the natural constitution of France is armed democracy, and the legitimist Châteaubriand asserts that liberty in France must hide her red cap under the helmet. Even Lamartine, one of the most obstinate enemies of Bonapartism, pathetically tells us that the revolution of freedom was followed by the counter-revolution of glory; and it is amusing to see how in Proudhon's work on war the enthusiasm for the '*phénoménalité de la guerre*' a hundred times breaks through all the peace-apostle's exhortations. Reason and equity are silenced, and even the decency of the nation of *bon-ton* vanishes, as soon as the phantom of *la gloire* flares before its eyes. All France shouted with joy when Napoleon heaped together the art-treasures of all countries in the halls of the Louvre, and nobody reproached him when he carried off the Madonna of Loretto, as the Romans used to carry off the gods of the vanquished. But a cry of indignation rang throughout the land when the allies demanded back the plunder, and to this day the official catalogue of the Louvre tells in the tone of offended morality how shamefully the Prussians, in 1815, pillaged the Imperial galleries."

And what that Imperial *gloire* cost France is partly stated in the following:

"France can tell a tale of the immortality of historical guilt. What makes Mirabeau so tragically striking an appearance is, that in his life the fate of his people is mirrored. Just as the shadow of his youthful profligacy intervened between Mirabeau and the crown, and prevented him from occupying the right place at the right moment, so the nation but half-completed its first revolution because it bore on its shoulders the burden of an iniquitous past, because its simple citizen virtues had been crushed out by the old régime. And similar is the present. No rational statistician doubts the fact that the main—though not the only—cause of the highly unsatisfactory physical conditions of the French population—in fertility, frequent debility, superabundance of cripples—is to be found in the wars of the First Empire, which killed off the healthy male youth of the country. And the historian, too, will easily discover the traces of those stormy times in the political field."

The main representative of French military glory is thus sketched:

"Napoleon was a foreigner on the throne of France. . . . His mother bore him under her heart when, at the Ponte Nuovo, Corsica's freedom succumbed to French arms. He who for the first time beholds one of those figures in relief which represent the Emperor in a Roman

* "*Historische und Politische Aufsätze*. Von Heinrich von Treitschke." Vol. I., third edition. Leipzig, 1867. Vols. II. and III. Leipzig, 1870.

garb, needs some reflection to recognize that he has not the figure of a Roman before him. Observe the classical traits of this Augustan head, and see how little it has in common with the small skull of the Celt; and chiefly how entirely different the firm gaze of that powerful eye is from the unsteady fire which flickers in the eyes of Frenchmen. The *esprit* of beautiful France the *Imperator* neither possessed nor appreciated; the power and depth of his passion are purely Italian; his nature, his feeling, appears to Frenchmen too *entier*. Proud Italians hailed their countryman as a Roman *Imperator* whom Gallic legions had raised upon their shield. Corsican patriots of the old school saw in the tamer of France the avenger of his native isle. The Corsican became a hero of France merely because here the revolution opened a vast field for his immense strength. Under other circumstances, he would have indifferently selected any other land for the base of his greatness; as, in fact, in the years of unsatisfied ambition, he played with the thought of entering the Russian or the Turkish service. But the wreath of the highest princely glory is allotted only to national heroes, in whose image a whole people sees its innermost being reflected and glorified. Such a national hero Napoleon would have been had he ruled the world with the power of Italy; for in him was incarnated that ancient phantom of Italy's longings, the *Principe* of Machiavelli. As Emperor of the French, he is but the greatest of all the homeless adventurers of history."

Napoleon was the idol of one generation of Frenchmen in our century; the idol of another generation was "the people":

"All the spokesmen of radicalism vie with each other in offering adulation to the people. One of the maxims of the 'Society of the Rights of Man' is this: Every law must be based on the principle that the people is good and the government exposed to temptation. When a workman's rising is quelled, the radical journals but rarely and timidly venture to throw out a word of condemnation against the movement—as unwise—but there is no end to the praise heaped upon the heroism of the men with the callous hands and sinewy arms. The fourth estate is the people proper, 'peuple-roi,' 'peuple tout-puissant,' 'peuple-idée.' The *gamin* of Paris, according to Victor Hugo, in breathing the air of the world-city, inhales innocence; the *ouvriers* form the genuine aristocracy. Every scandal of high society . . . is skilfully worked up to contrast the purity of the maltreated helots with the wickedness of the revelling Sybarites. The intimidated middle-class does not always muster courage openly to defend the order of the state against the innocent people; the injustice of the jury becomes a rule in all political cases. The *blâmes* among the rich, amid all their anxiety for their purses, hail every regicidal attempt, every insurrectionary riot, as a welcome change, breaking the uniformity of their enjoyments."

The Restoration, after some feeble and foolish attempts at repressing the revived revolutionary aspirations and Napoleonic idol-worship of the nation, succumbed to the *bourgeoisie*. The Orleans throne, whose royal representative and main supporters our author treats with great severity, fell under the blows of the "peuple-roi." The latter, by its folly, speedily sapped the foundations of its own structure, the Second Republic, and made a *coup d'état*, a dictatorship, unavoidable. The Bourbon and Orleans monarchies had bred republicans; the revolution of February reared a spirit of sweeping reaction. Napoleon III. gave France quiet, order, and a glittering prosperity under the cover of a despotism erected on a level of perfect equality. But under such a despotism there was as little room for an aristocracy of the mind as for hereditary distinctions. The new Empire in vain imitated the ways of the "Grand Monarque;" it had neither a Racine nor a Molière, and its court contained only "a company of *parvenus* and adventurers." There was no room there for high spirits or high hearts. The divinities of the time were Mammon and a vulgar Venus. The age, not of Louis XIV., but of the Regency, was revived. Paris again became the high school of vice for the world; French civilization shone in a renewed "propaganda of immorality."

The liberal armed propaganda was, however, not entirely given up either, even in this period; it shone once more in its better light in the Italian campaign of 1859. And our German author is far from inclined to deny that many of the warlike enterprises of the French, from the time of Rochambeau to our own, have been marked with a trait of a generous idealism. On the other hand, he clearly saw, at the time of his writing, the danger with which the mainspring of French aggressiveness, national vanity, threatened Germany. He regarded a Franco-German war as a calamity to both nations which was by all means to be avoided. He did not believe there was a war party in Germany. Nor did he expect to find in France an enemy as little to be dreaded as was Austria in the summer of 1866. Yet, were France to provoke a war, he was convinced Prussia "would take up the gauntlet with the calm confidence that the invasion of the domestic rights of the German people must this time end with the defeat of foreign arrogance." He did not believe Napoleon III. mentally "sunk so low that he would not see the formidable dangers of a war with Germany." Yet, "as the Emperor was obliged, for the sake of the

Ultramontanes, to draw the sword against the Italians, in the same way," he thought, "increasing perplexities in his internal policy might drive him into the arms of the Chauvinists, into a nefarious war of plunder against the Germans."

THE STUDY OF GOVERNMENT.*

MR. YEAMAN'S work on the "Study of Government" is intended as a contribution to the science of general politics. Its object is not to examine the text of the Constitution of the United States, but to investigate and state those principles which are essentially related to all governments, to discover the bases upon which government rests, and to describe the forms in which government has been expressed; with such illustrations and comparisons as shall show what forms are the best, in what forms the essential principles can have fullest and freest play. The work is a volume of more than seven hundred pages, and shows the results of a vast amount of reading, or, perhaps, it would be more accurate to say, of the consultation of a very large number of authorities. It consists in a large part of citations from writers of all the different schools of political thought from Puffendorf, Burlamaqui, and Rutherford, down to Austin and Mill.

The first impression which we obtained from a careful reading of this book—and the impression has not been removed by any subsequent return to it—was that the author had formed no clear and accurate conception of government itself, or of the manner in which the discussion was to be conducted, or of the special object of the work he had undertaken. He says, in the introduction, "My original plan was to avoid almost entirely quotations and notes of reference." It was his intention "to reduce to a connected and consistent mass a system of conclusions derived from reason, experience, reflection, and the aid of other writers, embracing all that is deemed valuable and true, rejecting or omitting without notice all that has passed under the condemnation of modern thought, and upon controverted ground never avoid coming to a definite judgment." This plan was finally abandoned, and the completely different one was adopted of citing what a very large number of other writers have said, no matter how unlike their premises, their processes, and their conclusions, and of connecting these extracts by a thread of comment. Thus we have the diffuse platitudes of Rutherford side by side with the close, scientific reasoning of Austin and the destructive dogmatism of Bentham.

The absence of any clear and accurate conceptions of government, of that very subject-matter which should be treated scientifically in order to be treated practically, is shown in those preliminary portions which are devoted to definitions, and in the selection of special topics, the discussion of which occupies a large part of the volume. We might cite very many instances of this vagueness and confusion of ideas, but will simply give one or two illustrations, taken at random as we turn over a few pages. Thus we are told in Chapter I. that "all government consists of law; and whatever furnishes a rule or law of conduct, whatever regulates the actions of mankind, is in one sense government. This is the moral government of moral beings." Here we learn, first, that all government is law; secondly, that it is what furnishes law; and, finally, that it is whatever regulates the actions of men. It is thus at once the agent and the result; and if whatever regulates the actions of men be government, then the appetites, desires, and passions must form a part of it. Again, in the introduction, the author says: "The term political law being often used in this work, it is due that I should attempt to give some idea of what is meant by it. It is the law of politics, the law or rule of political action, embracing all the motives, means, and necessities of organic, social, or governmental action." Political law, as used by all scientific and accurate writers, is a term having a well-settled and defined import. Mr. Yeaman, so far as we can gather from his language, uses it in a different sense, and thus obscures the discussion. This law, he tells us, embraces "all the motives, means, and necessities of organic, social, or governmental action." We are unable to understand how a law can embrace the motives, means, and necessities of organic or of any other kind of action. This sort of writing—and there is much of it in the book—will never aid the reader in the study of government.

When we turn from the preliminary definitions to the various topics which are discussed, the lack of accurate conceptions appears in even a more marked manner. The author says: "The present enquiry extends only to one part—that of political law, which is what we generally understand by the science of government. It embraces the organization of

* "The Study of Government. By George H. Yeaman." Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1871.

civil society, the internal administration of its government, and its external relations with other civil societies." Pursuing this plan, he not only gives a short sketch of international law, but actually devotes the longest chapter of the book, running through seventy pages, to the subject of prize law and maritime capture, the whole chapter being "an argument against the capture and confiscation of private enemy's property found at sea, as a mode of warfare." All this has absolutely nothing to do with political law. Independent and sovereign nations have certain relations with each other, and in their intercourse observe certain rules; and these relations and rules form what is known as the international law, but do not depend in the slightest degree upon the form or ideas of government of any particular state, nor upon the nature or organization of its civil society. The author, in a special chapter, and at frequent intervals throughout the book, dwells at considerable length upon the objects of government, to the end that he may ascertain what laws are proper and expedient, and what are unnecessary and improper. He even makes an excursion into the department of parliamentary law. His conclusion is that the object of all government should be the protection of person and property, and we most heartily agree with him in his earnest condemnation of the recent practice which has so turned the rules of parliamentary law from their original design as to convert them into a means of stifling debate and of overriding a minority; but all this, however good in itself, and however appropriate and necessary in a treatise upon the theory of legislation, has no connection with political law or with the study of government.

Mr. Yeaman's book is perhaps even more marked by what it omits than by what it contains. There is no attempt to define a republican form of government, no discussion of the essential nature of the electoral franchise, and no thorough investigation of the intimate relations between local self-government and civil and political liberty. Of all the matters which properly belong to the study of government, to a treatment of political law in its widest sense, these three are just now of the greatest importance to the American people. Does a republican form of government necessarily involve universal suffrage? Is the electoral franchise a universal manhood right, to be ranged in the same class with the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, so that any institutions and laws which withhold it from portions of the citizens are essentially tyrannical? Is it best to abandon the system of local self-government elaborated by our fathers, and to substitute in its place a centralized power based upon universal suffrage, in order to procure a more perfect administration of public affairs? These momentous questions are now pending before the people of the United States. "The Study of Government" will bring little or no help to their final settlement.

The work is, in short, rather a discussion of many important topics and matters connected with government and legislation than a scientific treatise upon government itself. It contains many instructive extracts from political writers, and not a few very valuable observations and statements of opinion of the author. Its makeup is greatly marred by the absence of any index. A very copious index, with numerous cross-references, an analytical table of contents, and a list of authorities referred to, are absolutely necessary in a work which covers so large a ground as this, and which uses so frequently and freely the labors of others.

CORSON'S HAND-BOOK OF ANGLO-SAXON.*

PROFESSOR MARCH'S "Anglo-Saxon Reader" was noticed in our columns a few months ago. The present work by Professor Corson differs from that, as it is at the same time, and, indeed, mainly, a hand-book of Early English. Of 327 pages occupied by the selected texts, only 120 are given to Anglo-Saxon. And of this space, little less than half is taken up by the version of St. John's Gospel, which is presented here in its completeness, making a simple and easy introduction to the study of the language. The remaining texts are drawn from the Homilies of Ælfric—three of which are given entire—from the translations by King Alfred of Orosius' History, and of Boethius' "De Consolatione Philosophiæ," and from the Saxon Chronicle. The editor has not aimed at the greatest variety in his selections; he believes that "the real purposes of an educational text-book of this kind are better subserved by fewer extracts of considerable length, and, as far as possible, by complete productions, than by tidbits that give but a faint idea of the general style of a work." Without disputing the soundness of the principle, an exception might be claimed for

the case of a literature in which the works themselves have, in general, no high literary interest, and the learner may need, therefore, the attraction of a greater variety. We are not sure, however, that by any principle of selection the editor could have done better than he has, in this respect, with the meagre and monotonous material afforded him in Anglo-Saxon prose.

As for Anglo-Saxon poetry, it is omitted altogether. This might seem at first view a defect in the work. The Anglo-Saxon prose, as just intimated, is of small literary value: to a great extent it consists of translations. All that is most elevated, striking, and characteristic in the monuments of the language, is to be found in its poetry. He who has read nothing of *Cædmon*, the *Beowulf*, or the shorter poems that have come down to us, can have no proper conception of the Anglo-Saxon genius. But this poetical literature is very difficult reading. It is brief, disjointed, enigmatical; it abounds in conceptions and expressions which may have seemed natural to our forefathers, with their different training and habits of thought, but are very strange to us; it is full of allusions the key to which is hardly, if at all, to be recovered. The editor, doubtless, felt that it required greater maturity of mind, as well as greater knowledge of the language, than could be expected in most of those who would use his book. And he must have felt this the more strongly, as the plan of his work allowed no place for explanatory notes. We must confess, however, that this total absence of commentary appears to us scarcely consistent with the aims and uses of such a manual. Even in the selections from Anglo-Saxon prose there are difficulties to be removed, obscurities to be cleared up, passages in which a few words of illustration would be a help and relief to the student. The same is true of the extracts from early English writings. In the excellent work of the German Mätzner, "*Altenglische Sprachproben nebst einem Wörterbuche*," (*Specimens of Old English, with a Dictionary*, Berlin, 1867-69), the selected texts are accompanied by a copious, and by no means superfluous, commentary. It is true that Professor Corson's glossary does much to supply the needed aid; but does it supply all that is needed? It is not safe to assume that a deficiency in this respect will be made up by the teacher. Good teachers of Anglo-Saxon will hardly be numerous for some time to come. Probably, no small part of those who take up this hand-book will use it in the way of self-instruction. It must be remembered that the study of our language in its older forms is not yet general and popular. That it may become so—that it may find a place in the training of all well-educated persons of both sexes—is an object greatly to be desired. But for this purpose it must be made easy. All obstacles which might repel and disgust the ordinary learner should, as far as possible, be removed from his path. The compilers of elementary books should take this as a guiding principle, and see to it that, if they err at all, it is on this side. The editor, in this case, may have thought that the addition of a commentary to a volume already numbering nearly six hundred pages would make it inconveniently heavy and clumsy. Some pages, however, might have been gained by the use of a smaller type and a more compact printing for the glossary; and if this were not sufficient, some of the extracts could have been abridged or omitted without serious disadvantage.

The specimens of early English, which in the aggregate much exceed those of Anglo-Saxon, are taken from "*Layamon's Brut*," the "*Ancren Riwe*," the "*Ormulum*," "*Robert of Gloucester's* (rhymed) *Chronicle*," "*Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyrt*," the "*Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeveile*," "*Trevisa's Translation of Higden's Polychronicon*," "*Piers Plowman's Vision and Crede*," the "*Wycliffite Versions of the Bible*," "*Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*" (the Prologue, entire), and Gower's "*Confessio Amantis*." The selections are made with judgment, and furnish a good view of the literature from which they come. In the *Layamon* texts, we think that a punctuation according to the sense should have been substituted for the merely rhythmical pointing of the manuscripts. In Sir F. Madden's edition, this was not necessary, as the subjoined translation everywhere shows what he considers to be the punctuation required. For the student of this hand-book, the difficulties of a text without note or comment are enhanced by the want of any practically useful punctuation. We have failed to discover even any statement of the character and purposes of the pointing taken from the manuscripts. It might have been well, in some cases, to take notice of the emendations proposed by Madden. Thus, in the introductory passage, of about seventy lines, the later text has *driste*, *ristnesse*, and *mistie*, apparently—as Madden suggests—for *drihte* (Lord), *rihtnesse* (right actions), *mihhtie* (mighty). Professor Corson's Glossary gives *driste* as being probably for *drihte*; but of *mistie*, *ristnesse*, and even *rihtnesse*,

* "Hand-book of Anglo-Saxon and Early English. By Hiram Corson, M.A., Professor in the Cornell University." New York: Holt & Williams. 1871. 12mo, pp. xv. 572.

it makes no mention. It is silent also as to *folloft brofte*, seemingly miswritten for *folloht brohte* (he brought baptism). And there are some other words, occurring in the same passage, which we do not find in the "Glossary": so *fiede*, which Madden refers to an Anglo-Saxon *fegan* (to write); *thrumde*, which has the sense 'compressed'; *sumne*, which is not given as a separate word, though the student, if he looks under *to*, will find the compound *to somne* (Germ. *zusammen*, 'together'). The word *strende* is omitted; but the student may infer its meaning from the Anglo-Saxon *streōnan* or *strynan* (to beget, conceive). To these we may add *hoe*, which Madden regards as miswritten for *heo* (them), as well as *afden* for *hafden* (had), and *hilke* for *ilke* (same), the omission of which may occasion some perplexity to the learner.

We suspect that this number of omissions, of words occurring in a single extract, may be the result of some untoward accident. In general, the "Glossary" seems to have been prepared with the care and thoroughness to be expected from a lexicographer so able and experienced as Professor Corson. If we were to make any suggestion looking to its improvement, it would be that derivative and compound words should be more uniformly referred to the roots from which they come. It would be well, for instance, that *duyede* (power, a force of men), in Layamon, should be traced to its root in Anglo-Saxon *dugan* (to avail). Under *yrmdh*, *cormdh*, *ermdh* (misery), reference should be made to the adjective *earm* (poor, miserable). In like manner the compound *avleiedh* (drives away), in the "Ancien Riwe," might be traced to the prefix *ā* (out), corresponding to the German *er-*, Gothic *us*, and the verb *fleōn* (to flee); the Anglo-Saxon *andefu* (equality), to the prefix *and* (against), corresponding to German *ent-*, Greek *ἀντί*, and the adjective *ēfen* (even); *altheōdignys* (going abroad), to the root *el* (other), seen in English *else*, and the noun *theōd* (people, country); *heregeat* (armor), to the nouns *here* (army) and *geatu* (equipment); and so in many other cases. In regard to words borrowed from the French—such as *achatours* (purchasers), *assagen* (to assuage), *entaille* (shape), *mester* (trade), etc.—it might, perhaps, be doubted whether they ought to be traced with the same distinctness to their foreign roots; but at least the fact of their French origin should be indicated in the "Glossary." It would be well, too, if modern English words used in the definitions were distinguished, whenever they are connected in etymology with the words defined, by a peculiar style of printing, as in the excellent vocabulary to Professor Whitney's "German Reader." The learner would then see at once, what otherwise he might overlook or question, that there is an identity of origin between *emn* and *even*, *esse* and *ask*, *hrecōh* or *hrecōe* and *rough*, *ilic* and *each*, *iua* and *foe*, *loren* and *lost*, *mā* and *more*, etc.

The grammatical sketches at the end of the volume constitute an important feature of the work. The "Anglo-Saxon Grammar" needs little enlargement to make it sufficient for the ordinary purposes of elementary instruction. Its division of the strong verbs into twenty-one classes, borrowed from the rather insignificant "Angelsächsisch-englische Grammatik" of J. Loth, does not strike us favorably. It is unscientific, for it separates classes which are closely related (so, especially, the eighteenth and twenty-first) by interposing other classes of a widely different character. And it is unpractical, for a classification which runs to such high numbers is not easily apprehended or remembered; it requires for itself a further classification.

Outline grammars are given also for Layamon and the "Ancien Riwe." The pre-eminent importance of Chaucer in the early literature of our language would, perhaps, have made it worth while to give a similar view of English inflection as seen in his writings. But it may be safer to defer such a work until the texts now publishing by the Chaucer Society are fully before the public. With these in their hands, it may be possible for scholars like Professor Child to determine what Chaucer actually wrote, and thus to obtain the material for a trustworthy grammar of his language.

On the whole, we welcome the work before us as a useful contribution to the means of study in a field which is attracting much, but deserves to receive far more, of public interest and favor.

THE MAGAZINES FOR JUNE.

At the beginning of what promises to be another hot summer, the magazine reader is more ready than ever to turn first of all to the stories of the month for amusement. The longer stories run on well. Colonel De Forest's "Kate Beaumont," in the *Atlantic*, treats us to a drunken row, and we leave the sensitive Southrons loading their pistols for the inevita-

ble duel, which will probably bring peace to the two great families distracted by their feud. The chapters of "Overland" in the *Galaxy* are capital reading, and if the storm on the Pacific is described in the manner of Charles Reade, that is a good manner for such thrilling scenes. "Lady Judith," in the same magazine, is about the same as usual. In *Old and New*, Mrs. Stowe still carries us deep into the tangled meshes of impropriety, although there are signs of an innocent ending. For shorter tales we find in *Lippincott's* a fable by our old friend, "Ouida," which is not at all in the manner of Æsop; and a disagreeable story called "Still Waters," by Florence Marryat. A story of a somewhat similar kind is "Fetters and Lures" in the *Galaxy*, in which strange imitations of human beings are racked by strange imitations of passion. One may well compare with the latter the amusingly innocent little tale in *Harper's* of the sort of which this magazine seems to have an unfailing supply. It is called "A Bohemian Household." Every one must have observed how greedily even the most experienced novel-readers devour these cheerful tales. They may not be the best ever written, but they have one element of the best, or rather they lack certain elements of the worst—they are not on offensive subjects, nor, certainly, are they vicious from over-subtlety. "Anteros" still continues to rack the school-girl's breast. It is amusing to notice the resemblance of this instalment of it to Mr. Bret Harte's parody in his "Condensed Novels."

For serious reading, we have Mr. Richard Grant White's defence of himself against the recent criticisms in the *College Courant*. It appears, as did the book criticised, in the *Galaxy*. It is written in a most artificially good-humored style, quivering with geniality, the reviewer being denounced as a "two-headed Connecticut giant of intellect," "good Mr. Pedagogue," and "Siamese-twin contributor." In fact, the English language seems to be as irritating a subject of controversy as the federal headship of Adam. In the same magazine is an article called "Sepulture," which might have been better called "Graveyards." It criticises very justly the absurd way in which our burying-grounds immortalize the stupidity of the journeyman stonecutter, who seems only anxious to make as extravagant a display of white marble and white granite as possible. Most of our burial-places are glowing with this tawdry display, rivalling even the domestic mantelpiece. The officials insist, too, upon thick granite curbs, and succeed in making the places under their charge more artificial in appearance than the city itself. A more natural and vastly more pleasing system has been adopted in Cincinnati. We hope that it may be introduced in other cemeteries before they are wholly spoiled. The history of the campaigns of General Lee ends in this number with an account of the battle of Gettysburg and of the final struggles around Richmond.

In the *Atlantic* we have apparently the last extracts from the diary of the Virginian in New England, at a period thirty-five years ago, but which seems so much remoter. The capture of Fort Fisher is described, and this time it is General Ames who gets warm praise. Mr. Clarence King continues his well-written and interesting account of his adventures in the Sierra Nevada. The "Whispering Gallery" contains very little that will add to Dickens's fame or to one's interest in him. The "Encyclicals of a Traveller" are written with a facile pen. No family that intends to pass next winter in lodgings in Rome will be without excuse if it is unprepared for the housekeeper's troubles, what with these letters and the very entertaining one in *Old and New* from the same place.

In *Lippincott's* there is the third number of Mr. Donbavand's "Wild Ireland," and an account of the Freedman's Bureau. The anonymous attack upon Professor Lowell seems hardly justified by the scanty testimony adduced by the writer. The simple statement of his opinion may have relieved his breast, but even if combined with a hue and cry against favoritism, cliques, etc., it can hardly be expected to have much weight with the impartial reader. Two or three innocent phrases are picked from Mr. Lowell's last two volumes, and are the text of the writer's denunciations, which seem so animated by personal pique and blind ill-temper that we wonder that they should have been admitted into the magazine. The writer sums up with the statement that Mr. Lowell is "destitute of the insight, the comprehension, the sympathy of the true critic and of the true poet." It may not be so great a deficiency if this article is to be taken as a specimen of critical insight, sympathy, and comprehension.

The *Overland* is quite as good as usual, but without containing any article of marked interest. "A Waif of the Pogonip" and "A Trinity Diamond" smack of the soil. Besides these, we find an account of the eclipse in Siberia, and of Northern whaling.

For the poetry of the month we have "The Robin" of Mr. Whittier's in the *Atlantic*, a sonnet of Mr. Boker's in *Lippincott's*, and a characteristic ode of Walt Whitman's in the *Galaxy*. As to the "Bubbles from an Old Pipe," in the *Atlantic*, they hardly need to be mentioned, unless it be to wonder why they were not kept for the newspaper of the next Great Fair.

The Year Book of Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, 1871. (New York: Wm. B. Dana & Co.).—This annual record contains a very useful collection of facts not otherwise readily accessible in a convenient form. The plan of the book is a good deal better than its execution, and there is room for a vast deal of improvement in future editions. But the labor of compiling statistics in this country, where so little has as yet been done to systematize this important branch of enquiry, is so great, that we must make many allowances for the shortcomings of the volume before us. There is less excuse for the character of the original matter in the volume, which is uneven and at times feeble. But there is enough of value to make these deficiencies appear light. Some of the financial statistics are extremely useful. The collection of data concerning the debts and finances of the United States, and of each separate State, is unusually complete, and has never before, so far as we are aware, been made in full. The commercial records of the year, and the extended market reports, both for Europe and America, have been selected with judgment, and contain an immense amount of just such information as every intelligent reader or writer is almost daily in want of, yet never knows precisely where to get. There is a good foundation here for an extremely valuable annual in the future, and a comparatively limited amount of additional labor would add materially to its usefulness. Notably is this the case with regard to the printing and proof-reading, which are inexcusably bad.

Words: their History and Derivation. Alphabetically arranged. By Dr. F. Ebener and E. M. Greenway, jun. (Baltimore. 1871. Super-royal 8vo, pp. 1-36).—We gather from Mr. Greenway's Preface that this luxuriously-printed pamphlet, the first instalment of an extended work, contains the results of Dr. Ebener's "Research and Comparison" concerning English words, and that Dr. E. is a German, to whom the other plays the part of editor and patron. The treatise is declared to have been suggested by the reading of Mr. Grant White's "Words and their Uses," and its publication to have been prompted by the kind approbation of the "distinguished American philologist" (Prof. Haldeman) to whom it is inscribed. It would be very pleasant to say something in praise of a work which so many agencies and influences have combined to produce; but truth compels us to take the contrary tone. Dr. Ebener is apparently a man of some learning, but of no knowledge—so far, at least, as etymology is concerned. He has taken the trouble to acquire Sanskrit, but he has no idea of how it should be made useful. Having heard that this language is the mainstay of Indo-European etymology, he imagines that he has only to take a given English word straight to the Sanskrit dictionary, and find there a root that sounds something like it, and that has a meaning indefinite enough to be twisted into something like its meaning, and his task is done. Of the true historic method, which follows up the history of a word step by step, comparing it first with its nearest relatives, and striking at an ultimate root only as the winding-up of the search—of this method he has not an inkling. Hence, his results are not only false; they are ridiculous. It is truly astounding to see the assurance with which he takes up words whose history is as well known as anything in language can be, and refers them to Sanskrit roots or vocabularies with which they have just as much to do as *Moses* with *Middleton*. Thus, *accompany* has for its root *pang*, which is equivalent to *jang*, which is Skt. *jangam*, intensive of *gam*, 'go.' This *gam* is the root also of *accost*, *again*, and various other words. *Achieve* is from Skt. *kshi* or *kship*. *Ado* is Skt. *idā*, 'talk,' from the root *i*, 'go,' of which, it is added, the infinitive is *ētum*. *Ago* comes to us from a very ancient time, "when the participial forms had not become entirely adverbialized. One might safely say the word is as old as the Christian era, and a thousand years older at least." It does not mean 'gone,' but 'not gone,' its prefix *a* being the "alpha privative." *Air*, 'atmosphere,' is from Skt. *ād*, 'blow,' but *air*, 'melody,' is from Skt. *īr*, 'utter.' *Alarm* is referable to the Skt. *ul*, 'agitate.' And so on, through thirty-six dreary pages, unrelieved even by occasional glimmers of good sense and sound method.

The introduction is after the same pattern. It begins with a few in-

different generalities; next gives a list of books of reference, in which, though there are some conspicuous instances of bad judgment, there are also enough good works to show that a man's success as a student of language, even in this age of light, depends more upon his internal resources than upon any the best external aids; and then we are led off into a discussion of certain special peculiarities of Sanskrit phonetics. "Of these vowels," the author goes on to say, "the original *a* has lost its purity in most of the Germanic languages, and has glided down towards *i* or *u*, often announcing its presence in the influence it exercises upon them, forming what is called by English grammarians upsounds. So in Goth., *ai* (not *ái*) is pronounced like *vir* in Lat., *œ* like *world* in Eng." And, lest we be not sufficiently propitiated by these lucid statements, he winds up with, "The English has a great number of upsounds, exhibiting every shade of human feeling, and, so far as that is concerned, is the finest language in the world." Alas, that it should have been left to Dr. Ebener to make this wonderful and interesting discovery; and alas and alackaday, that his readers, who must be every moment dropping these precious upsounds from their lips, as the princess in the fairy-tale did pearls, should not even know them when they are pointed out by him.

We apologize to our readers for detaining them so long over this worse than worthless production. Not even the most merciless of the attacks on Mr. White's book ought so to distress him as the thought that he has had a share in suggesting it; and the "distinguished American philologist" would do well to clear his skirts, if he can, of the responsibility imputed to him on its dedication-page.

•• Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

| Authors.—Titles. | Publishers.—Prices. |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Abbott (J.), Science for the Young; Heat..... | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Andersen (H. C.), A Poet's Bazaar..... | (Hurd & Houghton) \$1 75 |
| Bailey (Rev. T. J.), Jurisdiction and Mission of the Anglican Episcopate..... | (Pott & Amery) 1 00 |
| Baird (C. W.), History of Rye, N. Y..... | (A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 6 00 |
| Barker (Lady), Spring Comedies..... | (Macmillan & Co.) 1 50 |
| Barnard (C.), Gardening for Money..... | (A. K. Loring) |
| Belle Lovell..... | (A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 1 00 |
| Birchmore (Rev. J. W.), Prophecy Interpreted by History..... | (E. P. Dutton & Co.) 1 50 |
| Bigelow (L. J.), Bench and Bar, new ed..... | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Blackburn (J. S.) and McDonald (W. N.), Grammar School History of the United States..... | (W. J. C. Dulany & Co.) |
| Boise (Prof. J. R.), First Lessons in Greek..... | (S. C. Griggs & Co.) 1 25 |
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| Burroughs (J.), Wake-Robin..... | (Hurd & Houghton) 1 50 |
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| Centennial Celebration of Rutgers College, swd..... | (Joel Munsel) |
| Clarke (Rev. J. F.), Ten Great Religions..... | (J. R. Osgood & Co.) 3 00 |
| Drawing Book for Schools and Beginners, 4 parts, swd..... | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Eckmann-Chatrain (M. M.), The Blockade of Phalsburg, bds (Chas. Scribner & Co.) | 50 |
| Grant (Sir A.), Xenophon..... | (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 00 |
| Greene (Prof. G. W.), Life of Maj.-Gen. Nathanael Greene, Vol. III. and last..... | (Hurd & Houghton) 4 00 |
| Hall (Rev. J.), Papers for Home Reading..... | (Dodd & Mead) 1 75 |
| Hammond (Dr. W. A.), Diseases of the Nervous System..... | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Harland (Marion), Common Sense in the Household..... | (Chas. Scribner & Co.) |
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| Heinzen (K.) Teutscher Radikalismus in America, 2 vols., swd..... | (Indianapolis) |
| Helper (H. R.), Noonday Exigencies in America..... | (Bible Bros.) |
| Hope (Dr. G. H.), Till the Doctor Comes, swd..... | (G. P. Putnam & Sons) 30 |
| Hughes (T.), Alfred the Great..... | (J. R. Osgood & Co.) 1 50 |
| Illustrirte Krieger-Chronik, Part 15, swd..... | (B. Westermann & Co.) |
| Journal of Social Science, No. III., swd..... | (Hurd & Houghton) 1 50 |
| Koner (Prof. Dr. W.), Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Nos. 30, 31, 32, swd..... | (L. W. Schmidt) |
| Lange (Rev. J. P.), Gospel according to John..... | (Chas. Scribner & Co.) |
| List of Books for the Use of Young Persons, swd..... | (Am. Unit. Ass'n) |
| Latham (Dr. H.), Pasture Lands of North America, swd..... | (Omaha) |
| Lente (Dr. F. D.), Objects and Aims of Medical Science, swd..... | (D. Appleton & Co.) |
| Mason (W.) and Hoadly (E. S.), System for Beginners on the Piano-Forte..... | (O. Ditson & Co.) |
| Masson (Prof. D.), Life of John Milton, Vol. II..... | (Macmillan & Co.) 4 50 |
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| Newman (E.), Illustrated Natural History of British Moths..... | (London) |
| Illustrated Natural History of British Butterflies..... | (London) |
| Peard (Dr. M.), The Institutes of Medicine, 9th ed..... | (Harper & Bros.) |
| Peard (Frances M.), One Year: a Tale..... | (H. H. & T. W. Carter) 1 75 |
| Porter (Prof. N.), Books and Reading, 4th ed..... | (Chas. Scribner & Co.) |
| Reavis (L. U.), Thoughts for the Young Men and Women of America (S. R. Wells) | |
| Redfield (I. F.) and Bigelow (M. M.), Leading Cases upon Bills of Exchange, etc..... | (Little, Brown & Co.) |
| Smith (Rev. C. J.), Synonyms Discriminated..... | (Scribner, Welford & Co.) 6 00 |
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